WINTER AND THE "GREAT COLD"

after we could still hear the dance-music going on. When 585
dusk begins to fall the bridegroom betakes himself with his train of tribal brothers to his bride's house, where feasting is resumed. When the guests can eat no more or the food is finished—which ever happens first—the bridegroom's party carry off the bride to her new home. In theory they carry her all the way, but as that may be for some miles across rough country they frankly admit that they soon set her down and let her walk herself, but carry her again when near their goal. On arrival the bridegroom's family welcome her at the door with incense and thin bread. Then the pair take hands and step over the threshold together putting their feet down simultaneously. The bride then advances to the hearth which is henceforth to be her own. She touches the hearth-stones with her fingers which she then kisses. She is then led to the seat of honour by the main pillar of the house and food is brought for her party, who presently return home. A brother or maternal uncle and a bridesmaid remain with her that first night.

Next morning the mother-in-law leads the bride to the flour bin and sets her to bake thin wheaten bread. She kneads the flour, rolls out the thin pancake, and flings it on the griddle for the waiting bridegroom to turn. If she spoils the bread he is entitled to tap her with the bread-turner; if, on the other hand, he botches the baking she is entitled to smack him with the rolling-pin.

The last public episode before the Great Cold is the 796
Tumushelling, the Midnight Bonfire of the Winter Solstice, a ceremony which, so far as anyone could tell us, had never before been witnessed in Hunza by a European, and small wonder, for late December is no time for a Political Agent to be on tour nor for globe-trotters to trot. We owed our chance of seeing it to our temerity in wintering on the spot. The [805] ●
Hunzukuts have long since adopted the Muslim Nauroz (the vernal equinox) as their official New Year, but not improbably their earlier custom was to reckon the turn of the year from mid-winter.

We had been told that we should be awakened in the small

192 turn on," till you discover that it "diverts the flow of water" whether in one direction or another.

195 All technical terms, be they verbs or nouns, are capable of vivid metaphorical application, humorous and pointed when you are sufficiently *au courant* to appreciate the intended allusion. Such metaphorical uses are improvised as required with an originality and freshness that an American might envy.

A tiresome person may be "a wasps' nest" or "a painful disease," an over-strenuous worker "an earthquake," an only child "one torch-splinter," a loutish person "a pumpkin," an inexperienced fellow "a green apricot," a short-handled spoon "a tadpole," and so forth.

● 805 Clocks and watches are, of course, unknown where work is simply from dawn to dusk, yet the complicated exchanges of water at midnight or 3 a.m. are faultlessly concerted. Our day appointments would be defined "when the sun is one lance-length above the hill" or "when the first shadow falls on such and such a spot." Dádo had had experience of European time in some earlier service, and was thrilled to possess the watch that DL gave him. He used to come to the study every evening to set it by our little clock. He always held it upside down, and in order to compare it with ours (which was naturally right side up) he went through the oddest neck contortions to get his head upside down. But the idea of time had enslaved him; he was more rigorously and unforgivingly punctual than any servant we ever had, and it was impossible to bear the reproach in his eyes if we waited to wind up a paragraph after dinner was on the table. When I was typing in the dining-room he would appear at the door and say politely but firmly: "I must come to lay the table in another three minutes, Mother." Sometimes, just to tease him, I would say, "Well, you can't, for I'm going to finish this, and it will take at least ten minutes." "Oh, Mother *dear*, then dinner will be late!"

192 923 Burushaski has no expressions for East and West or North and South except the learned words of Arabic; Hunza thought runs "up river" and "down river," "uphill and downhill." One day in describing a house I said: "You know So and So's,

dimanum i·nɛ šati·lo·an bam. I·nɛ yu·čər yu·y pasо·m imanumi. I·nɛ senimi: "Ja wa·da ɛta baiyam ki·nɛ hilɛ·san baiya das'i·nan bo?" senimi. "Hilɛsan bai.i," senimi. "Jo·čumana?" s'enimi. "Gu·čam," senimi. "Mulkulo astam no·tan gučam," senimi.

I·nɛ yu· nuyɛn asta·mər du·simi. Mulkulum sistsum doγarusumi: "Daltas ki·nɛ ɛ·u·ča ba. Ašа·to nɛ yu·čaba. Jɛ hunərin 'o·čam, ma barɛ·nin," senimi. Yu·ər hukəm ɛtimi: "Ki·nɛ ka galt nɛ suluma du·nin," senimi. Hin di.ɛn du·nimi ɛ·ka. I·nɛ jut i·nɛ šat nɛ uyu·m inɛ wašimi. Yatɛ hi·nər hukəm ɛtimi: "Du·n" nusɛ. I·n kɛ wašimi. "Ma asta·m ɛtin ku·ɛ hərɛŋulo amin γunikiš, amin daltaš bai.i kɛ." U·ɛ ki·nɛ šatilo inɛr han bər nɛ 'ašato bai.i' se.iba·n. Da "ki·nɛ ka·tulu kɛ ki·nɛ dimanai kinɛ yučam," se.ibai.i.

I·nɛ ditsun ha·lər. "Šuguːlo, u·ŋɛ ka·tulo ki·nɛ dimanai.i, gu·čam," se.ibai.i. Ho i·nɛ hilɛ·sər doγarusumi: "Lɛ ɛ·i, u·ŋ ja ka·tulo ba. Ja ka jučuma bɛ?" "Aya, jučam," senimi. "Ama u·ŋ gu·imo bušai.ər ni ku·ltomo guntsatsum pfər gutɛ dɛ·nər yo·ltsər hisa·b ɛti. Gu·imo tɛšatər du·sin hisa·b ɛti. Han baḍali·kɛn (*or*, barali·kɛn) gopači no·s, čup nɛ huru·t. Hɛra·ltɛ asma·nulo xuro·nčan numan i·tɛ xuro·nčatsum han čuto·wan numan i·sɛ baḍali·kər gi·čam," ɛsimi. "I·tɛ tsil numan amin gu.i·ɛ goxakin goy'ɛrum bo kɛ i·tɛ baḍali·kulum tsil inɛmur muči, mo·min. Te·latɛ jɛ jučam. Mu·to u·ŋ guyɛmo ganatɛ guyɛmo bušai.ər ni," senimi.

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2 *i·nɛ senimi* — i. e. *Pfaxan Karaski* said . . . The narrative is continued from *dəšqaltisi* p. 104 l. 20.

ja wa·da ɛta baiyam kine . . . 'the one whom I had stipulated about'. This is an example of how the lack of a Relative Pronoun is made good in Burushaski. The clause is adjectival and one must either suppose a relative which does not exist or regard the verb as being participial.

4 *astam no·tan* — 'causing them (the people) to make a decision'. The exact nature & significance of the episode which follows is obscure.

6 *Ašа·to nɛ* — i. e. *ašа·to inɛ* 'that weak one' there is nothing to indicate who the "weak one" was.

9 *yatɛ hi·nər* — probably 'next, to another'.

15 *Ama u·ŋ . . . ni* — "he said to his own father" should be inserted either before or after *Ama*.

16 *pfər* — the use of *pfər* here is peculiar. The literal rendering of the passage is probably "reckon from today backwards in the current year up to twelve

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

the contract was strong. His father grudged to hand him over to the man. The latter said: "Is (the child) I had made the condition about a boy, or is it a girl?" "It is a boy," said Dungpa Miru. "Are you going to give him to me, or not?" "I will give him to you. I will have the matter adjudicated on in my country and then give him to you."

Taking his sons with him he presented himself for a decision of the case. He said to the people of the country: "I won't give him this fine boy. I'll give him the feeble one. I'll make them show off their accomplishments. You watch." Then he gave orders to his sons saying: "You take it in turns and wrestle with this boy." One got up and grappled with him. The small lad overpowered and threw the big one. Then the father said to another: "Tackle him," and the small lad threw him too. "Now you decide," said he to the people, "which among them is the inferior, and which is the superior?" They all with one voice said of the strong one: "He is the weakest." On this Dungpa Miru said: "I shall give him this boy, as the one who was born under the agreement."

So he brought him along to the man's house and said: "Friend, this lad was born under the agreement, I give him to you." "My son," said the man to the boy. "You are mine according to the agreement. Will you come with me or not?" "Yes, father, I will come," said the boy. But (to his own father he said:) "You go back to your own country and in this coming year reckon up to twelve months from today. Then go up on to your roof, make your reckoning, put a bowl down beside you and sit in silence. I shall become a raincloud in the sky and I shall become a drop of rain and fall from the cloud into the bowl. Then whoever is your favourite daughter-in-law give her the water from the bowl and make her drink it. Thus shall I come (back). Now go off by your own road to your own country."

months". We should say "forwards" but the point of view is the end of the twelve months and one reckons backwards towards oneself.

18 *хуромĉан номан* — is perhaps absolute: "a rain-cloud having come into being in the sky" i. e. 'a raincloud will appear in the sky and I shall turn into a drop of rain and fall from that cloud'.

20 *gu.iv gozʌkin* — 'your daughter-in-law (wife) of your son.' *-ʌkin or *-ʌzʌkin alone means 'daughter-in-law'.

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

Hin mu·ngo ya mu·lusan huru·šai.i. Hin das'inan gəro·nimu ka huru·šabo. Inɛmur "moka·tum dasin" se.iba·n. Nuk'učɛn tso·rdinɛr ho dasin xamali mo·bišɛčər mo·asguse (*or*, mo·askuse) tsayuretum daγo.aŋ dusu·čər mutsu·čubo. Das'inɛ tsayurate han p'ači.ɛn ya bur'i.e dustsakan mo·sgusmur fat ɛčubo. Dastu·r bila isɛ gatu mo·sguse yo·ljubo.

Jati.ulo daγo.aŋ dusun ine gəro·nimur moγu·iba·n. Dɛ·qulai.i bo, xamali bišačər duγu·uski bo. Gəro·nu.ə yu·sɛ xamali šar nɛ dawatɛ bišamər inɛ ɛltalai bai.i. Gəro·ni.ɛ xamali ɛ·kušɛlumo kɛ gəro·nu.ɛ muču·škatɛ duwaq mo·učai.i. In ɛltalaniš aiye·manum 'ekušɛlimi kɛ yu·se γaisɛ duwaq ɛčubo. Gutɛ yərum zamana·tsum dastu·r bila.

Ho usko wa·lto xamaličiŋ daŋ ɛtumər dau daγo.aŋɛ ni·dılin di·ušа·n. Ho xamali mo·bišai.ɛs mu·ngo ya mu·lus moka·tum dasin kɛ u·imo h'akičaŋər ničа·n.

Ho gər nɛ iskikutsum aŋaro guntsɛ yus mu·yər ka· 'o·gučača·n. Aŋaro tso·rdimo Hunzu.ɛ dastu·r bila tumišeliŋɛ pfu bišəč'a·n. Inɛ gəro·no yu·smu ka nuku·čɛn iw'atatɛ təil nut'in to·ntsatsɛ girašər jučai. Nıki·rat i·mo ha·lər nimər yu 'i·mi.ɛ e·r mul ɛča·n. Ise mul šičai.i. Iser "o·tiki mul" se.iba·n. Yərum zamana·tsum dastu·r bila.

Das'inmur mu mumi.ɛ ha·lum gərər a·lto iski sərmutsiŋ kan'i· kɛ

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2 *moka·tum dasin* — is in effect a "Bride's Maid", but the precise meaning of *moka·tum*, from *-*aka·tum*, is doubtful. It is used of a person in one's service.

5 *dawatɛ* — *dau* + *atɛ*.

13 *dau daγo.aŋɛ nidılin* — "striking the griddle with flour" the idea is probably "sprinkling it with flour", as in l. 9 p. 298.

14 *mo·bišai.ɛs* — i. e. *mu* + *-*abišai.as*, the agent form of the Causative.

16 *iskikutsum aŋaro* — Tuesday: because marriages are always celebrated on Saturday.

17 *tumišeliŋɛ pfu* — vide Vocab. s. v. There is a difficulty here as *tumišeliŋ* appears to be a period of a few weeks about midwinter, and the fire appears to be connected with the *Širi Badat* myth

This would seem to imply that marriages only take place within a fixed period at midwinter. Perhaps the marriage fire is only similar to, or derived from, the *tumišeliŋ* fire.

ispʌkpa y minced meat. (Said to be Shina). 000
xstinjaʷb ʂtʌs to urinate, relieve nature.
54.4. Ar. *xstɾnjaʷ*.

iʷstɛɛr, *-iŋ* y.
1. Lining, inner side of cloth. H. (IUB) *ʌstʌr, kapɾe ke ʌndʌr ka ɾuɣ.*
2. Planks fixed on outside of house to keep off rain. (IUB vernacular Ms. *ɛstɛr*, but this is probably merely due to a misuse of symbols).

-iʷš, *-ʒ* (*ʃʃ*) Nominal suffix, v. § 21.c. e.g. *ɣʌsaʷs* to laugh, *ɣʌsiʷš* laughter.

-iš, *-š* Verbal suffix, v. §§ 321 and 357.

iʷša solstice. period following the solstice(?) — *sa išaʷ walimi*, or *nimi* the sun has fallen into, or, entered the *iʷša*, i.e. the sun has reached the solstice. *bai.imo iʷša* winter solstice (explained as the months of Dalv, (Ḥuʷt), Jaddi — the Chilla, but the Chilla is roughly only January and the beginning of February). *šinimo iša* summer solstice. *sa iʷšaʷ ɟimi je šɛrmaʷ ɟuɣʌm* or *sa išaʷ je ke šɛrmaʷ* the sun has gone into the *iša* and I have gone under the rug(?), i.e. I have got fever. 805

(Biddulph gives B. iša and Sh. iša as "winter solstice" and "summer solstice". Leitner gives them as "January" and "July" and translates iša literally as "mill pond". V. "Handbook" pp. 18—20).

išaʷra, *išaʷʌt* y sign, signal. — *išaʷra ʂtʌs* to make a sign, to signal. *ɛmɾšʌts išaʷʌt ʂtimi* with his finger he pointed out (the hill). 28.11. Ar. 000

ɾšpoʷš y sg. and pl. seedling (of rice, tobacco etc.). *bɾʌsɛ ɾšpoʷš ɛmɛɛrkʌs* to plant out (rice) seedlings.

išq y love (of lovers). Ar.

itʌn, *itaiyn* x, v. **-thʌn*, top, point.

486

000 *qurum* -*iŋ* y cavity or cleft between boulders.

qurut, xurut sg. & pl. x, d.pl. -*ints* dried curds. — *Gu.ičuᵊ kuruts daudau dosućam* the Wakhis bring them "*aš*" (broth) of "*qurut*". 338.9. *ɣuruts tsamᵊike ka . . . dosućan* they bring it with "*tsamik*" of "*qurut*". 342.5. Elsewhere "*xurut tsamik (bila)*" was recorded.

(Steingass gives Prs. *qurūt* = dried curds, and the word occurs in Wkh., Kho., Psht., Parāchi and Kābuli Persian). Turk. Prs.

qušɛlas, kušalas, qušɛlj- to go wrong, be spoilt, become ruined, H. *bigarjana, barbad hona, wairan hona.* — *guts duro kušælimi* this affair has gone wrong. *its mazar kušɛlila, api* the grave has become ruined, it no longer exists. 224.7.

(*q-* IUB & QUB. Cs. *-ʌqušɛlas.* Cp. Sh. *kušᵊolo, kušɛlo* broken, damaged).

quts for *kuts*, q.v., days. 102.5.

qhüyɛ, qü.ɛ, qhiyɛ, khiɛ; N. *qiyɛ* x (sg. and) pl. pebble(s), shingle, gravel. — *han qhüyɛn* (or, *qhiɛn*) *fat ɛtimi* he put aside a pebble. 52.7. *gunts kɛ han qü.ɛ wasimi* he also every day threw aside a pebble. 52.9. Cp. 52.10,14,19.

It is said that uneducated people put 365 pebbles in a basket and keep count of the days of the year by transferring one every day to another basket.

000 The exact sounds of the word are difficult to determine. I originally wrote it: *khi.ɛ*, but I think there is a *-y-* which affects the preceding vowel and consonant.

300 b

where. They use water to turn the mill that grinds their bread and that is primitive. But many thousands of people throughout the world would say that it is the right way. The adroitness and the ability of the Hunzan men would match that of any people in the Western world.

I cannot say that I found anything about them that was primitive. Further, they can choose the modern way of life if they so desire it. But the only people who seek it are those who are forced to leave Hunza because of the shortage of actual living room.

Poverty stricken—One writer referred to them as being poverty stricken. If the beast of the fields and forests and the birds of the air are poverty stricken, then I guess we would have to admit that the people of Hunza are poverty stricken as well. If you want to feel sorry for birds, because they have to seek shelter in their unheated nests high up in the trees, where the winds blow around them, and because they do not have oil heating for their nests or motors for their wings as a sign of poverty, then I will be forced to agree with you.

As long as the people of Hunza are free, have a bit of land to till and a house of their own that is not mortgaged or tax-ridden and are in good health and attain long life, I definitely cannot accede that they are poverty stricken.

Fair complexioned—Now and then some author refers to them as being fair complexioned. I did not see one fair complexioned person in all of Hunza. Perhaps the writers meant to say that they were Caucasians, which is true, as compared to Orientals or Negroes. They are not a fair people any more than the Spaniards, Italians or Greeks are fair complexioned peoples.

Precise, exacting—An occasional writer sought to

7:Tobe C,T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

compliment them by mentioning among their qualities the fact that they were precise and exacting. That statement is about as far-fetched as a statement can be. 805

In the cities of Asia and when dealing with government officials, one found them quite observant of time. An appointment for a certain hour was usually kept at that hour. However, in dealing with the people of Hunza I found that time and distance were meaningless. All rivers were nullahs, all mountains were dorani. Haste and speed caused consternation. They did not understand the necessity or need for it. I stress again however, that in the official capacity this did not necessarily apply. [804]

Birth control—More than one writer, and some who should have had more common sense, has referred to the extraordinary method of birth control as practiced by the people of Hunza. From my observations I would state clearly and to the point, that they don't know what birth control means and it is from my observations and conclusion definitely not practiced. 842

The average family in Hunza consists of 7 people which means that they have 5 living children. Many have more, some have less. If you can call that birth control by any stretch of the imagination, well, that's your privilege. [163]

Even the most primitive of people know that as long as the child is sucking at the mammary glands the ovum somehow doesn't come down the fallopian tubes . . . nature's own method of survival, as common sense will indicate.

I know—I know—I know that some or many obstetricians and general practitioners say that it doesn't mean a thing, but they are just trying to prove that science is greater than empiricism. Sure, I know that conception can take place under the circumstances

Biddulph G-3 (1873-1878) 1880 Afgh-Afghanistan AV2
4 AV3 Dard AV3
Burusho AV7

D 726

cut off or their stores fail, and they are obliged to make terms. On the other hand, if they are well supplied, the invader gets tired after a short time and retires. If they feel strong and confident, the garrison sallies out to offer battle outside the walls, but the taking of a fort by assault is unknown. On account of the supplies it is usual to plan an attack for the time when the standing crops in the invaded country are just ripe.[1] The store in the fort is then at its lowest, and the invader finds no difficulty in subsistence.

D 805

Though Islam has introduced the inconvenient Mahommedan calendar, the ancient method of computation by the sun is still in use. In Gilgit and the valleys to the south

[177]

the months are now distinguished by the Arabic names of the zodiacal signs. In Hunza and Nager a more ancient nomenclature still exists, as it did till lately in Gilgit, though most

B 805

of the names in the latter place are now lost. The year is divided into two seasons, from solstice to solstice, called "yôl" (Boorish) and "hallôl" (Shina). The season commencing at the winter solstice is called "baiy," and the one commencing at the summer solstice "shini." Each season is divided into six months, the names of which are repeated in each season in a different order; the second season beginning with the first month, and then the other names being taken backwards. The months are named from certain objects or fancied resemblances on the horizon behind which the sun sets at certain dates, as seen from the gate of the ruler's castle, so that each place has a different set of names for the month. The calendar as it still exists in Nager will give a sufficiently good idea of the system.

The months are as follows, commencing with the winter solstice:—

1. Baiy Isha.
2. „ Gamoosa (*ice-sun*, the sun sets behind a glacier).
3. „ Tikkidir, (*earth line*, the sun sets behind a level space).
4. „ Kabula, (*kebla*, the direction of Mecca).
5. „ Hingbalter (*door-way*, from a rock resembling a gateway).
6. „ Booye (*shoulder-blade*, from a rock resembling the blade bone of a sheep).
7. Shini Isha (commencing with the summer solstice).
8. „ Booye.
9. „ Hingbalter.
10. „ Kabula.
11. „ Tikkidir.
12. „ Gamoosa.

[1] "The time that kings go out to battle," 1 Chron., XX, 1.

147 Biddulph G-3 (1873-1878) 1880 ~~AUI Afghanistan AUI~~
4 AV3 Dard AV3
Burusho AV7

Isha literally means a mill-pond, but in this case it is not meant to represent a mark on the horizon, but to signify a receptacle, the place beyond which there is no going. The Kebla month is no doubt a name of modern introduction. In ancient times computation seems to have been by these seasons. The term "yôl" has now come to be used for the whole year, and the half year is called "yôl trang," but a man of forty when asked his age will often say that he is eighty "yôl-trang." According to Mr. Schuyler, the Kirghiz make the same computation. The half-month is called *toonts* (Boorish), and *putch* (Shina), and no smaller division of days is recognised, though in Shina there are but seven names of days, which closely resemble the Sanscrit days of the week thus—

D 805 B 805

Sunday	Adit	*in Sanscrit*	Aditya bar.
Monday	Tsundora	„	Sambar.
Tuesday	Ungaroo	„	Mangal bar.
Wednesday	Bodo	„	Budh bar.
Thursday	Bressput	„	Brihaspati bar.
Friday	Shooker	„	Suka bar.
Saturday	Shimshere	„	Sanischar bar.

These names are used in Gilgit, Hunza, and Nager, and were most probably introduced by the Shins, as they were in use long before the Sikh power was felt across the Indus. It would seem as if the Shins, while introducing the Hindoo days of the week, adopted in other respects the mode of computing time already existing in the country.

D B [177]

In Chitral the calendar is computed by the solar year commencing with the winter solstice; but the months take their names from peculiarities of season or agricultural operations, not from local land marks. They are—

D 805

1. Toongshal (*long nights*).
2. Phutting (*Extreme cold*).
3. Aryan (*Wild ducks*).
4. Shadakh (*Black mark*, in allusion to the black appearance of the earth when the snow melts).
5. Boi (*Sparrows*).
6. Ronzuk (*Trembling*, in allusion to the waving appearance of the growing corn).
7. Yogh (*Full*).
8. Mooj (*Middle*, alluding to summer being half over)
9. Poiyanaso (*The end*).
10. Kolkomi (*Threshing*).
11. Kirman (*Sowing*).
12. Chunchoori (*Leaf falling*).